

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. II. No 25.

CHICAGO, OCT. 10, 1908.

50c. a Year.

## The Intellectual Against The Worker

Extracts From Arguments Made by Daniel De Leon of New York City.

I came here to the convention, during the time, as the Bulletin of May 23rd contained a challenge by your Executive Board Member Cole during me and Katz to come to the convention, I accepted the challenge and here I am, ready to enter the hall where you assemble, ready to dare, and when I come here I find the doors closed against me. closed because I dared to again direct the tendency for industrial unionism out of the entanglement and mire in which it was losing itself to a clear and well grounded road.

I find Executive Board Member Cole, daring me to come to this convention, bitterly engaged in shutting the doors against me, engaged in helping side-track and to blur the issue before you. You stand before the bar of the international labor movement. It is not me who is on trial before this convention, it is you who stand on trial. You who have to give account for your actions at the bar of the international movement of the proletariat.

The multiplicity of documents in my possession, documents which I have with me not for the purpose of brag that I can prove anything and everything, but only statements that I make; statements backed up by documentary evidence would show you that I, fired by the need of this hour, considered it my supreme and commanding duty to be at this convention to save the ship from suffering shipwreck on the rocks, this command for service in the cause of the international proletariat brought me here, under dare, to direct the ship into safe waters.

However valuable my services in the labor movement may have been, whatever I may have deserved in consideration thereof, cast that aside in view of the extenuating circumstances, consider only what I have been charged with doing now and forget the past.

As to the charge of unconstitutionality of procedure let me go through the technicalities of the case first.

The Store and Office Workers' Union is one of the unions which formed a part of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. I represented that organization at the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World as a member at large. When the proper placing of members formerly composing the Alliance was arranged I was told and convinced that my place was in the Store and Office Workers' Union of New York City. As delegate of that local I was at the second convention of the I. W. W., and again at the third convention—no protest was raised, no objection made that I was not in the union to which I properly belong, an Industrial Union.

Had the first convention of the I. W. W. done its work right it wouldn't be necessary for me to come here to rectify the mistakes. There at the first convention it was generally admitted that it was the delegation of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance who knew what was needed, what was required for a working class organization on the economic field, supreme over the political, and had it been for them and their conception they would have clarified and cleared away the confusion that still exists as regards to the correct structure of an industrial union.

There at the first convention I was clashing hands over the "bloody sham" with Eugene Debs, as I thought that the firm foundation had to be established, on which the working class would come together and prepare the construction for political and political party unity, and unity on the economic field.

Here is Trautmann, in his usual ambiguous way, referring to the New Castle meeting with Debs as a "compact." There and then I knew what was in preparation and I begged Debs to be at the second convention, because as I said, "there is to be a rumple," and we have to be there to guide and to direct. Nothing else.

And Debs had promised to be there. The third convention came, and against the advocates of physical force the ad-

herents of the theory that political and economic organizations are necessary for the task of emancipating the workers won out.

There is the contention that the local of which I am a member is a craft local; I deny that. There is confusion of what an industrial union is, and I am here to clear away that confusion; it is not I who is violating the constitution, as I will prove it is you (pointing to Williams and Trautmann) who know not what an industrial union is, and I am here to rectify the errors and correct the misconceptions.

What is an industrial union?

It is an organization consisting of all the various branches of a certain industry, speaking therefore of my own trade, "the Newspaper Publishing Industry," a local into which are organized as many of that industry as there are special tools used by the workers in the production of goods. The SPECIAL TOOL determines the nature of the branch, and if enough of such branches organized on the lines of the special tools used are organized they are welded together into one industrial union. In the printing industry, for instance, it would require first the organizing of a branch of compositors, and then a branch of stereotypers, a branch of pressmen, a branch of editorial writers, etc., and these branches organized according to the special tools used would be brought together into one industrial union of newspaper workers.

There is no such thing in the printing industry of New York City as an industrial union of workers in the Newspaper Industry. There is a branch of compositors, only a branch, and the special tool there determines the character of the branch, hand compositors, linotype compositors. There should be branches of stereotypers, of pressmen, but there are not the sufficient number of workers for a branch of these crafts; their place is in a mixed local or recruiting union, or in a union of the worker's choice. A branch of the occupation in which I am working as editor cannot be organized until at least ten men of the same occupation come together to form a branch, but until that time the workers in the industry grouped by the special tools they use have no place in the other branch of that industry. It is therefore I who am in the union where I ought to be, because there is no editorial writers' branch in the printing industry organized, and it is my son, Solon De Leon, who is in the wrong place and should by right be in the local of which I am a member.

Therefore, I, instead of violating the general understanding of industrial unionism, am the one who promotes and practices the idea on correct lines; it is the wrong conception of those who dared me to come to this convention which is responsible for the retarding of the movement; it is they who are the destroyers, and it is they who ignore the scientific fact that the branches are determined by the special tools used, who are setting back the advent of correct and indestructible industrial unionism.

The industrial union of my trade is composed of one branch of compositors, it is therefore non-existent, my place is therefore in the mixed local, where I am.

I should be here at this convention deliberating with you to correct the false notions and the vagaries of Williams, Fellow Worker Williams, beg pardon, and Trautmann.

(The protestee then went into the merits of the case of Stodel, and started to relate the incidents with relation to Stodel's alleged peddling a device by which a certain manufacturing concern was to be cheated out of its profits, but he was called to order by the chair, on the ground that Fellow Worker Stodel was not on trial before the convention.)

Well, sir, I did not want that man, that Stodel, in the Daily People office. He became obnoxious, my class interest dictated to show him the contempt for a conduct at variance with the accepted principles of the dignity of the work-

### TO WORK, TO ACTION, FELLOW -WORKERS!

"Let it not be said that the working class deserted the institution which was organized to fight their every-day battles and be the most powerful weapon in the struggle of the toilers for industrial emancipation." Let not the enemy rejoice in the hope that they could cripple the resources of the organization, and thus destroy the usefulness of the instrument designed to organize and to educate the workers for the consummation of their historic mission." The convention has done its work! It was well done, and the organization, as recent developments indicate, is planted solidly in the minds of the workers throughout the land. The bringing together of these masses is the next duty of every Industrial Unionist. But what is most needed to carry on the work is money, money to buy literature, money to disseminate knowledge among the hundred of thousands of different tongues who have not heard the message of Industrial Unionism delivered to them.

About \$12,000 were paid out last year for printing of literature and the Bulletin. It was a hard struggle in hard times, but it must be kept up, in spite of the adverse conditions prevailing throughout the country.

In fact more must be done if the members realize what the future has in store.

The General Executive Board concluded that more could be done on educational lines if the organization could be placed in a position to liquidate all indebtedness and start a printing plant owned and controlled by the Industrial Workers of the World. A printing plant in which literature in all languages would be prepared and printed. A printing press in which the power of knowledge could be manufactured.

To start immediately with the execution of this plan we must have the support of every member and supporter of the Industrial Workers of the World. Let every one who has the welfare of the organization at heart resolve unto himself to dig up a dollar. A dollar contributed to the emergency fund! Every member and supporter should call on other workers to contribute their share! Don't delay action on this important matter, come on and dig up.

Arouse ye workers! To work!! To action!!!

T. J. COLE,  
FRANCIS MILLER,  
H. L. GAINES,  
THOS. WHITEHEAD,  
J. J. ETORR,  
General Executive Board.  
WM. E. TRAUTMANN,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.  
VINCENT ST. JOHN,  
General Organizer.

ing class in its daily conduct—and therefore he had to go.

The labor movement, properly speaking, began two hundred years ago. In the beginning the anarchist tendency of individual self-help prevailed, individual theft was advocated as the method, but out of that confusion, labor generally rose to the position of discarding these anarchist tactics and of placing the movement on the dignified plane of our civilization. The methods of individualists were spurned, but it appears that the anarchist methods are being advocated by the present officers of the I. W. W., and such tendencies inevitably lead to disruption and chaotic conditions. Two great revolutions have taken place within the past few centuries, revolutions that changed the structure of the social system. In the French Revolution workmen were caught stealing, they were caught pillooting, stealing from the enemy. What did the workers do? They shot, they flogged them, they were shot by other workers. The working class rose to the dignity of their position. The principle was supreme that the workers are not thieves. Anarchist doctrines were discarded; the workers saved the honor, the dignity of their race.

Here we hear Emma Goldman preaching in her anarchist fashion, advocating the cheating of street car companies out of fares by the workers (interruption, "That's a lie," and chair raps for order). Yes, I have read the literature, and was present personally when such measures were advocated. These doctrines have no place, and should have no response, in the working class movement.

When Stodel was in the Daily People office, I was in his eyes the holy being standing between him and God; now he looks at me as the personification of the thing between devil and man. And it was Stodel who engineered the charges against me.

(The speaker then described the nature of the charges, and the mode of procedure in publishing these charges; showed that he had a similar case while

in the Knights of Labor. He claimed that the animus of the charges was clear, that from all appearances the local of which he is a member is a mixed local, though it has the title of a branch of the Industrial Workers of the World, and he blamed it on the General Executive Board, and denounced them as derelict in their duties for granting a charter to such a local, if it was not legitimately organized. He went after Delegate Smith for asking him what right he had to hire and discharge workers and remain a member of the I. W. W., and explained why, in his opinion, it was not necessary to attend the meetings of a mixed local, which in reality was only a propaganda local. He went on to ridicule the idea that the meeting of the union at which he was elected was packed by nine new members, who were also members of the Socialist Labor Party, when he, in fact, received 13 votes, and Stodel received 4 and another candidate, Flynn, one vote, the opposition against him being only five votes against the 13 votes he received. If those who had made the charge that such was the case would have submitted an affidavit there would have been a chance to put them in stripes.)

Williams, beg pardon, Fellow Worker Williams, says it is a bane on the labor movement that dues are not paid, but I declare it is a worse bane, the making of statements that cannot be verified.

De Leon then went at length into the causes of provocation that finally actuated him to use the Daily People, for the sake of the movement, to bring out the "Other Side." He charged Trautmann with having allowed articles to appear in the Bulletin in which the Socialist Labor Party was assailed, and that again a paragraph appeared in which the statement was made, "Markley is using even the space of the Daily People to misrepresent the I. W. W." What had Markley done? He had lied about the and slandered a national organizer of the Socialist (To be continued on page 2)

## THE WORKER AGAINST THE INTELLECTUAL

Extracts From St. John's Arguments Against Daniel De Leon.

The points involved in this contest are of such importance that a careful consideration of them will clear the issue before this convention. The protestee says that he was dared to come to this convention. That he has accepted the dare. That he finds on coming the door is closed to him by the one who dared him to come. The protestee overlooks the fact that what he chooses to designate as a dare was published in ample time to allow him to transfer to the local of his industry and to come here as a duly accredited delegate. Then he would be able to rectify the errors which, in his opinion, have been made and clear the misconceptions on the structural forms of industrial unionism which, in the opinion of the protestee, prevail throughout the jurisdiction of this organization.

The protestee presented various arguments and gave you the reasons upon which he claims a right to a seat at this convention. None of these reasons, in my humble opinion, will stand an investigation based on the merits of the case.

First, let us review the arguments of the protestee as regards the correct form of an industrial union. If the conception of the protestee is right, I am free to say that I do not know what an industrial union is, nor does the constitution so define it. If he be right the quicker we change the rules and the structure of the organization, the better will it be for the workers, because they could begin to organize correctly. The protestee says the "Special Tool" determines the character of a branch union. But special tools determined in the past the make-up of craft unions, and against that form it is that the I. W. W. have placed, and successfully, their most forcible argument.

In the opinion of the protestee the workers of a given industry would have to be organized, first, with regard to special tools they use, correctly defined, that is on craft union lines, before an industrial union embracing all workers in that particular industry, can be formed. Thus, according to his theory, it would require at least ten editorial writers before a craft branch or workers using that special tool can be organized, and so it would require the formation of a branch of compositors, a branch of stereotypers, a branch of pressmen, a branch of proofreaders, a branch of mailers, a branch of bookbinders, a branch of workers employed in the newspaper offices as clerks, etc. In that case it would require sufficient workers to be chartered as a branch before the industrial union could claim jurisdiction over them.

That is not how the Industrial Workers of the World proposes to organize the workers, as far as my understanding goes of its program.

The unit of an industrial union is not organized according to the tools used, but according to the plant, the workshop, the industry in which the workers are employed.

Take the printing industry. The industrial union of the workers in that industry would secure an industrial union charter. Immediately they would begin to recruit members working in the various plants regardless of the tools used, the terms used to determine the craft character are eliminated, all are printing plant workers. The union may grow, may become too large to allow the transaction of business in a systematic way. Is such an event the branching out is arranged, not according to the special tools used, only in exceptional cases, but according to the special requirements of the industry to facilitate the transaction of business, and according to the particular kind of work they are performing in the industry. All of these branches, however, would be integral parts of the local industrial union, as such they would have full power to discuss and to decide as to the working conditions in their particular department. Each branch would be represented in the industrial union by a delegate or dele-

gates. They, upon meeting, would discuss the instructions received from the branches, confer together as representatives of the industry, and formulate the working conditions for the industry into demands. Thus, when necessary, united action of the workers would result in the entire industry, and the industrial union of that industry would not need to discuss affairs of that industry with organizations of another industry or mixed locals in which, according to the protestee, part of the workers would be organized until a branch group according to the tools used could be formed to constitute the branch of an industrial union to be formed only when all the branches are organized.

The wrong conception of the protestee would eventually result in confusion; a bookkeeper, in a textile plant belonging to a mixed local, as he would were the protestee correct, would deny the right of the textile worker to call on him to cease work with the members of that industrial union. It is essential to assure solidarity of all workers in the industry, in the present day conflicts, and in the final contest for complete emancipation which cannot be accomplished if the workers are not clear upon the issues that today confront their class.

The revolution can only be accomplished when the workers are brought together as workers grouped according to the industries in which they are employed today, and which they will operate and manage if they correctly understand the relations of one set of workers to another.

It is on this point that the protestee is at variance with the views of industrial unionists. His theory should not sway this convention to fall into the errors he has made to the utter destruction of the organization and the principles it stands for.

The protestee gives you an elaborate story about the dignity of labor. The dignity by which the fighting masses are placed upon the advanced plane of civilization. A fake dignity, by which he has placed the life of workingmen below the dignified law of property rights, and capitalist class rules and ethics.

It has been the curse of the labor movement that such ideas could hold sway over the minds of the workers and thus retard the progress of the labor movement, and that the workers are taught and accept the teachings of the oppressors that it is for the sake of maintaining their dignified position to sacrifice the lives of their fellow workers, to the false notions and the vagaries of their common enemy.

No revolutionary movement will be successful as long as ideas such as advocated by the protestee are adhered to by the masses of workers.

It is not a question of petit larceny, of individual theft, or the cheating of a capitalist concern that should or does interest this convention, with regard to the insinuations made against one of our fellow workers, in this case Stodel, being the personification of what the protestee holds in abhorrence, the matter of cheating street car companies or railroad companies of fares does not belong before the forum of this convention, much though the protestee would try to inject a matter absolutely foreign to the subject.

The point is not whether the cheating of companies by such methods is not the method of warfare advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World. The point that you should bear in mind is the fact that the protestee would make us and the organization informers—we should, in his opinion, assume police duties and be the informers to the authorities in case members of our class use such methods.

That alone makes the case of Stodel of enough importance for me to touch upon it. Never let it be said that the dignity of labor as understood by an advanced working class should actuate us to shoot and kill those of our race who trespass and violate the laws of capitalist society, in spite of examples cited by the protestee from the French (To be continued on page 2)

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

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## THE NEW PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, and take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

Those conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making the injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work" we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wages system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution:

## "T WAS WORK WELL DONE."

Great was the work done by the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World that came to a close last week after ten days' sessions.

Its labors will mark the end of one epoch, necessary as it was in the development of affairs, and the beginning of a new epoch in the labor movement, the labor movement shaped in accordance with the industrial conditions of the country. Two principles were clearly defined and firmly established—principles rejuvenated only by the trend events had taken, and no amount of sophistry is going to alter the fact that it was the substance itself, the struggling working class, that made itself manifest at this convention, in deliberations. The shadows, the reflexes, the shields were no longer required to obscure the real issue—to wit:

"That the battle for emancipation must be fought out, not at the factory doors, but in the workshops of the nation, at the supply station of all commodities needed to satisfy the wants of all who produce."

It was the powder of thought and knowledge, of concrete facts that exploded the clouds of dust and false issues raised in the past epoch—powder prepared in the factory of the world's foremost thinkers.

"For the battles of today"—so says the new declaration of principles—"organize the workers as a class—for by cowardly giving way in their every-day conflict with capital the workers would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of a larger movement."

For the final conflict because: The present system simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for the economic reconstruction of society, and therefore says he, Karl Marx, the thinker and scholar, who puts the explosive of intelligence and thought under the decaying structure of capitalism: "Instead of the conservative motto: 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: 'Abolition of the wages system.'"

This is the keynote! No large movement can be initiated except the working class is trained and drilled in the every-day battle with the oppressors and rulers. But this conflict takes place in the factories, and to make the fight successful craft jealousies must be obliterated, working-class solidarity established. Correct structure, correct forms and a correct definition of the relations of one group of workers to another and to the whole working class—a very essential thing. Solidarity, if it is not to remain a myth and a phrase, pre-supposes the co-operation of the organized machinery of production in the worker's hand.

The convention rejected the pleas for disunion,—and thus saved the organization from the pitfalls that other organizations ere this had fallen into and perished.

The convention fixed its eye on the final goal, and as such declared in unmistakable terms that the economic organization is the structure of a new system generated in the "shell of the old."

Whatever other organizations may have to offer to reach that destination it is of no concern to the Industrial Workers of the World; political organizations may have certain functions to perform, that is a matter that interests those only who believe and make others believe that the workers' emancipation can be achieved by other than by the struggle in the workshops and the supply sta-

tions of the country and the world. The Industrial Workers of the World have on their side the stern logic of events, the accumulated knowledge of ages and they have but one function to perform, that is to organize the workers on the industrial field and educate them so that in the event of the change of the system the working class will stand erect in its dignity as the emancipator of mankind, and triumphantly plant the banner of industrial freedom over the workshops of the world.

To this end let us strive, let us work, let us suffer hardships, but let us win,—the freedom for all who produce.

## PROPAGANDA LEAGUE RESOLUTION.

Be it Resolved, By the convention that the general administration of the Industrial Workers of the World be authorized to issue credentials or charters to Propaganda Clubs or Leagues, composed of actual members of the working class, in localities where the general organizer deems them necessary.

1. That these clubs shall be under the control of the General Organizer the same as National Organizers.
2. That these Propaganda Leagues shall be governed by the Preamble and Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World.
3. That they shall not admit to membership persons suspended from the Industrial Workers of the World.
4. That they shall not admit to membership members who have withdrawn on account of disagreement with the policy of the organization or any of its subsidiary bodies.

## THE INTELLECTUAL AGAINST THE WORKER.

(Continued from page 1.)

Party in the People, but is said Organizer Cowan a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, is it any concern to the General Secretary whether such an organizer of the Socialist Party is lied about?

The protestant then dwelt at length on the causes that led him to appear before the Executive Board, but he was interrupted by Williams, who raised a point of order on the ground that the chair did not permit him (Williams) to give his version of that action previously. The chair sustained the point of order, but Hertz appealed against the decision of the chair. By roll call vote the chair was sustained by a vote of 31 to 29.

De Leon continued: It is sound reasoning, sound economics, that must unite the workers, and wherever officers of an organization receive from that line, an attack is justified. I have twice avowed the organization; at the first convention when it was the sound reasoning of the delegation of the S. T. and L. A. that saved the organization from falling in the pitfalls of compromise, the second time when the People came to the rescue after the brutal assault of Oct. 4, 1906, and sent in the first \$100 received by your present chairman of the convention.

Continuing, the protestant argued that Williams himself had written an article to the Bulletin replying to one by Quinlan in which loose statements were made about the Daily People's economics, which Williams correctly characterized as bearing the earmarks of a disruptionist. He then referred to utterances by Williams and Hieslowood which denoted race hatred, and concluded by saying: "Instead of this convention's sticking the knife into me, it should stick the knife into Trautmann and Williams." The convention should send him and allow him to rectify the mistakes made by the General Administration of the I. W. W.

## To Refute False Statements.

The claim that protests were filed against certain delegates in order to control the temporary organization is without foundation. The inference, sought to be scattered broadcast, that "Headquarters" was forced to this expedient in order to control is false. The facts speak for themselves. Here are the delegates who were protested by Headquarters, and the reason for the protest:

- No. 59, New York, in debt to General Headquarters, \$51.05.
- No. 159, Detroit, Mich., paid no tax for the months of December, January, February, March, April and May.
- No. 198, Toronto, Canada, paid no tax for March, April and May, July and August.
- No. 52, Chicago, Ill., delegate not a member of No. 52 and not a delegate from his own local.

This makes four delegates protested by "Headquarters."

No. 58, New York City, was protested by a part of the membership of that local.

No. 95, New York City, was also protested by part of that local.

This makes a total of six delegates in all who were protested prior to the formation of the temporary organization. This list has nothing to do with the protest against proxy credentials which has no bearing on the temporary organization.

Here are the delegates who took part in the temporary organization who afterwards voted with the majority:

Hertz, No. 15; Anselson, No. 64; O. J. Sautter, No. 13; Johnson, No. 85; Yall, No. 86; Smith, No. 93; Stark, No. 82; Whitehead, No. 178; Flynn, No. 179; House, No. 884; McArthur, No. 684; Blos, No. 800; 15 in all, exclusive of Executive Board members.

Delegates taking part in the tem-

## THE WORKER AGAINST THE INTELLECTUAL.

(Continued from page 1.)

Revolution in which workmen shot other workmen because they were taught that the property of their masters was of more value than the lives of the members of their own class.

But let me cite another illustration. There has been another revolution since the revolutions referred to by the protestant. Or rather an attempted revolution—that is, in Russia. We had recently as visitor in our office one of the participants in the stormy days of the revolution in Moscow. What happened there? The workmen had taken complete possession of the city, they were the masters of the situation. The inner part of the city was occupied by the proletariat class. The executive committee of the workers' organizations knew that the permanent hold on that part of the city was essential for a victory. They advised that the gas and water pipes leading into that part of Moscow be cut, and a conflagration started; the quarters of the workers could not be affected because they had nothing to lose. Then came such people as are here appealing to the dignity of labor and told them that in the name of the sacred cause of the revolution they should spare the property of their former oppressors. The workers listened to such advice, and about a week later the Cossacks swept over the city; they had the powerful resources and from the point of vantage which the workers had refused to destroy thousands paid with their lives for the obedience to the false theory that the rights of the ruling class should be respected as more sacred than the life of workmen.

Such theories are dangerous to the working class movement; it is not for the working class to pass judgment on the sins and the shortcomings of our class; it is not we who have to condemn if they do use methods that don't stand the criticism of those who believe in a dignified position. Now, as to the packing of the meeting of Local Union No. 58. The protestant says that there is no necessity for packing a meeting when there is a clear majority. But he failed to show whether he had that absolute majority before the election of delegate took place. According to his statement he had 13 votes, one opponent, Stodel, 4 votes, and another candidate, Flynn, 1 vote, making a total vote of 18 for the opposition. Nine out of the 13 votes for the protestant were cast by workers who were intimidated at the night of the election, nine members casting their votes for the majority. Deduct these nine votes from the 13 and there will be only four votes left against the five of opposition. Surely a good argument that the packing of the meeting was needed.

This disposes of the figures presented by the protestant. Now as to his claim that he had twice saved the I. W. W. and that it was from the Daily People office that the first \$100 were sent in the days of emergency. For the sake of accuracy on this point let me state that it was Albert Ryan who drew the first check of \$200 out of his own money and gave that to the organization in its hours of need.

The proper course to take in finding fault with the Bulletin was to enter protest either as an individual, or through a local calling upon the General Executive Board to rectify that with which fault was found, and not to attempt to correct the errors through the columns of a publication over which the I. W. W. has no control. The protestant has called your attention to the General Secretary objecting to the slandering of a Socialist Party organizer, hoping thereby to cause you to believe that the Secretary was overzealous in guarding the reputation not of the I. W. W. member, but the organizer of the S. P. It is not a question whether the one slandered was an organizer of the Socialist Party or not. The question is whether the person was slandered and falsely accused of wrong doing. If so, the blame for such false accusations and slander rests on the I. W. W., if made by an I. W. W. member and to its detriment. I for one would oppose any member of the I. W. W. making an accusation against anyone, even Gompers, not because I am concerned for the welfare of that arch-foe of the capitalist class, but because failure to prove an accusation would be used by the labor fakirs to discredit all accusations regardless of how much proof was behind them.

The accuracy of eradicating race and national prejudice from the minds of the workers is admitted by all, who can justly lay claim to being revolutionists. A criminal to the working class is he who attempts to inject such prejudice into a question in order to gain his end, even though he do so through ignorance of its consequences, but doubly criminal is he who, knowing the awful consequences of such procedure, does so from any motive whatever. Full well do I realize the conse-

## PRESTON AND SMITH FUND.

Wm. G. Martin ..... \$1.00  
John Cruchetto ..... 0.25  
James Green ..... 1.00

Under this heading we will publish all notices of an official nature coming from General Headquarters as well as from Local Unions.

Matter sent in for publication, such as place and time of meetings, location of headquarters, etc., must reach the office not later than Tuesday noon to assure publication in the issue of the same week.

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# The Fourth Annual Convention of The I. W. W.

**THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD HELD IN CHICAGO, ILL., FROM SEPTEMBER 21 TO OCTOBER 1st, INCLUSIVE.**

The fourth annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was called to order by General Secretary Treasurer W. E. Trautmann at 10 o'clock, in Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., September 21, 1908. The Secretary read the call for the convention and announced that the members of the Executive Board of the I. W. W. who had reached Chicago on time, had prepared a list of delegates against whom there were no protests, based on constitutional provisions.

The Secretary read the names of those eligible to be seated and to constitute the temporary organization, as follows:

1. Denver, Colo., Chas. Trainor.
2. Los Angeles, Calif., O. J. Sautter.
3. Blue Island, Ill., W. J. Pinkerton.
4. Chicago, Ill., Theo. Johnson; alternate, Max Ledermann.
5. Portland, Ore., J. D. Smith.
6. New York City, Theo. Hertz.
7. New York City, E. J. Flynn.
8. Seattle, Wash., Thos. Whitehead; proxy.
9. New York City, E. G. Flynn; proxy.
10. Pullman, Ill., Wm. Cook; alternate, A. Black.
11. Cincinnati, O., Geo. M. Conover.
12. New York City, Theodore Hertz.
13. Louisville, Ky., J. Arnold.
14. St. Louis, Mo., H. L. Gaines.
15. Omaha, Neb., B. H. Vail.
16. Yonkers, N. Y., Theo. Hertz; proxy.
17. Denver, Colo., Chas. Trainor; proxy.
18. New Bedford, Mass., A. Yates.
19. Seattle, Wash., Thos. Whitehead.
20. Philadelphia, Pa., James Ryan.
21. Spokane, Wash., Jas. J. Stark.
22. Somers, Mont., Geo. House.
23. Seattle, Wash., Thos. Whitehead.
24. Spokane, Wash., J. McArthur.
25. Providence, R. I., Francis Miller.

General Executive Board members: T. J. Cole, F. W. Hieslewood, Rudolph Katz, B. H. Williams, Wm. Yates, Vincent St. John, W. E. Trautmann, General Secretaries.

The General Secretary asked that those called proceed with the nomination for a chairman of the convention. Somebody raised a protest against the authority assumed by the G. E. B. in preparing the list of delegates eligible to be seated. The General Secretary read Section 2 of Article III and proceeded with calling for the nomination for chairman of the convention.

Vincent St. John's name was placed in nomination by J. D. Smith of Portland. The nomination was seconded by Stark of Spokane. Vincent St. John was then elected by unanimous approval of the convention.

St. John, in calling attention to the importance of the convention, called the "Industrial Union Singing Club" of the West to the front, and amid cheers they sang the International March.

The chairman called for nominations for Committee on Credentials. A motion was made by Yates, member of the G. E. B., seconded by Fred Hieslewood, that a committee of five on credentials be elected by the convention. Motion carried unanimously.

Upon motion the chairman was authorized to nominate three tellers to count the ballots. Those nominated were: Wm. Yates, Thomas Cole and Sautter of Los Angeles.

Nominations were made as follows: McArthur nominated J. D. Smith of Portland, Ore.

Theo. Hertz nominated E. G. Flynn of New York City.

Wm. Yates nominated Chas. Trainor of Denver, Colo.

Whitehead of Seattle nominated Theo. Hertz of New York City.

Wm. Yates, member of Executive Board, nominated A. Yates of New Bedford, Mass.

McArthur nominated J. J. Stark of Spokane, Wash.

Theo. Hertz of New York City nominated Whitehead of Seattle, Wash.

Williams moved that nominations be closed. The motion being seconded by five delegates, it was put to a vote and carried.

The Counting Committee reported that the following names were elected: E. G. Flynn, 14 votes; A. Yates, 13 votes; Theo. Hertz, 10 votes; Thos. Whitehead, 12 votes; J. D. Smith, 13 votes.

The committee was declared elected by the chair and called upon to proceed with the examination of creden-

tialism.

Motion was made by Williams, seconded by House, that the Committee on Credentials meet at General Headquarters. Motion carried.

A. J. Francis asked for information on the nature of protest, and the names of those whose seats had been protested.

The chair read the names of those protested as follows:

No. 46, New York City, N. Y., A. J. Francis; proxy; No. 52, Chicago, Ill., Max Ledermann; No. 58, New York City, Dan De Leon; proxy; No. 59, New York City, A. J. Francis; No. 67, Jersey City, N. J., Daniel De Leon; No. 85, New York City, N. Y., B. M. Rosener; No. 130, Detroit, Mich., H. Rich-

ter; No. 161, New York City, N. Y., Dan De Leon; proxy; No. 169, Jan. J. Stark; proxy; No. 198, Toronto, Can., Frank Martin; No. 206, Brooklyn, N. Y., B. M. Rosener; proxy; No. 426, Detroit, Mich., Herman Richter; proxy.

Motion by Fred Hieslewood, seconded by Hertz, that convention adjourn to 3 o'clock P. M., to hear report of Credentials Committee. Motion carried.

**Afternoon Session, Monday, September 21, 1908.**

Temporary Chairman Vincent St. John called the convention to order at 3 o'clock P. M. The Acting Secretary called the roll. Theo. Hertz reported in behalf of the Committee on Credentials and asked that another hour's time be given the committee to complete its report.

It was moved and seconded that the convention adjourn till 4:30 P. M. to give the committee the required time. Amendment made and seconded that the convention adjourn to meet again at 9 o'clock Tuesday morning. Amendment was put and lost; motion carried unanimously.

**Second Day, Tuesday, September 22.**

Convention was called to order at 9:35 by Chairman Vincent St. John. Roll call was read. The following delegates were absent: Pinkerton, Gaines, Jerry Smith, James Ryan, J. McArthur.

Committee on Credentials was requested to continue report. Delegate Hertz reported in behalf of the committee that they had organized with Hertz as chairman and Whitehead as secretary. He read the names of delegates whose seats had not been protested and the number of votes allotted them.

L. U. No.

4 Denver, Colo., Chas. Trainor.

12 Los Angeles, Calif., O. J. Sautter.

17 Blue Island, Ill., W. J. Pinkerton.

85 Chicago, Ill., Theo. Johnson; alternate, Max Ledermann.

92 Portland, Ore., J. D. Smith.

130 New York City, Theo. Hertz.

179 New York City, E. J. Flynn.

282 Seattle, Wash., Thos. Whitehead; proxy.

420 New York City, E. G. Flynn; proxy.

500 Pullman, Ill., Wm. Cook; alternate, A. Black.

6 Cincinnati, O., Geo. M. Conover.

15 New York City, Theodore Hertz.

31 Louisville, Ky., J. Arnold.

84 St. Louis, Mo., H. L. Gaines.

91 Omaha, Neb., B. H. Vail.

91 Yonkers, N. Y., Theo. Hertz; proxy.

125 Denver, Colo., Chas. Trainor; proxy.

157 New Bedford, Mass., A. Yates.

178 Seattle, Wash., Thos. Whitehead.

218 Philadelphia, Pa., James Ryan.

222 Spokane, Wash., Jas. J. Stark.

228 Somers, Mont., Geo. House.

384 Seattle, Wash., Thos. Whitehead.

434 Spokane, Wash., J. McArthur.

530 Providence, R. I., Francis Miller.

J. Arnold of Louisville moved, and it was seconded by Trainor, that the report be accepted and the delegates seated, with the exception of those whose seats had been contested.

A. Yates called attention to the fact that Local Union No. 157 had 200 members out of employment, using exemption stamps, and argued that those unemployed be given representation at the convention. Whitehead of Seattle argued that the adoption of such procedure would nullify the work of the Credentials Committee, as in the West there were thousands of unemployed in the organization who also should have representation. If such a request be granted to the local of New Bedford.

The chair ruled the question out of order on account of the status of the case.

Amendment by Yates that the report of the Credentials Committee be accepted with exception of that part referring to the allotment of votes to Local Union No. 157.

Williams ruled the point that the amendment was out of order.

The chair ruled that the passage of the amendment would place Local Union No. 157 in the place of local unions on whose status of representation the Credentials Committee had not reached an agreement.

The amendment to the amendment was put and none voted for and also against. The chair declared the amendment lost.

The original motion was put and adopted by a vote of 17 for and 9 against.

The chair declared the convention regularly organized and called for the nomination of a permanent chairman of the convention. Executive Board Member Katz objected on the ground that such procedure would be in violation of Article 3, Section 2.

The chair ruled that the procedure provided for in that clause had been gone through the previous day and ruled the point of order not well taken.

Nomination for permanent chairman. Delegate Stark nominated Vincent St. John; nomination was seconded by Axelsson; Trainor nominated A. Yates, Yates nominated Trainor. Both declined. Arnold was nominated and declined. Katz was nominated and declined on the ground that he was a general officer of the I. W. W.

Delegate Stark moved that nominations be closed. Motion was duly seconded by Axelsson and carried unanimously.

By vote of the convention the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for Vincent St. John as permanent chairman of the convention.

The chair called on the Credentials Committee to proceed with their report. Committee read the number of delegates whose seats had been protested. Motion made by Hieslewood that the report be taken up seriatim and acted on. The motion was seconded. Wm. Yates amended that all those on whose credentials the committee had acted favorably be taken up first.

Delegates Axelsson, A. Yates and Rud. Katz participated in the debate.

The amendment was put and carried, and the motion, as amended, was put and carried.

The Committee on Credentials recommended that Fellow Worker Francis, representing Local Union No. 59, be seated—this being the majority report. Trainor made the motion that the report of the committee be concurred in. Motion was seconded.

The committee gave reasons for the protest, and St. John stated the reasons actually given as Assistant General Secretary to protest the seating of Local Union No. 59's delegate because of the fact that many local unions, among them said Local Union No. 59, had owed headquarters money for supplies and that therefore according to Section 15 of Article 3 said local is not in good standing with General Headquarters.

Arnold of Louisville ridiculed the idea of disfranchising locals because they have no money to pay their obligations.

Williams argued that the loose methods engaged throughout the organization and the attempts to shift the responsibilities towards General Headquarters are bound to work injury to the organization.

A motion was made by Williams, seconded by Trainor, that Francis be given the floor to state the side of the local. Motion carried.

Francis explained that he was trying to liquidate the indebtedness to General Headquarters, and while disputing the amount, he admitted that the local owed money to General Headquarters for supplies furnished.

A discussion ensued thereafter; Delegates A. Yates and Wm. Yates speaking in favor of concurring in the report of the committee.

Hieslewood moved the previous question. It was seconded by Stark. The roll was called, the two Secretaries also casting their votes. Katz objected against the Secretaries voting and based his objection on the amendment adopted at the last convention.

The chair ruled that the amendment did not apply to conventions, as Article 3, Section 4, provides for the right of the Secretary to cast a vote at the convention.

Delegate Katz appealed against the decision of the chair. By roll call vote of 20 against 22 the chair was sustained in his decision. The Secretary then announced the vote on the motion to seat the delegate of Local Union No. 59; 29 votes were cast against the motion and 24 in favor of seating the delegate.

Upon question the chair ruled that the delegate of Local Union No. 59 would be seated as soon as the indebtedness of the local was paid.

The Secretary stated, when being asked, that he would not accept promissory notes, and only give a receipt when the amount is paid in cash.

Delegate Katz moved that the unions whom the delegate of Local Union No. 59 represents as proxy be recognized and the delegate allotted the number of votes they are entitled to.

The chair ruled the motion out of order on the ground that a delegate is not eligible to represent other locals if he does not represent the local of which he is a member, or if such a local is disqualified.

Delegate Trainor and others argued on the motion. Katz appealed against the decision of the chair. The chair was sustained by a roll call vote of 29 against 24.

Committee on Credentials continued its report, and recommended the seating of the delegate from Local Union No. 95 of New York City, N. Y., on the ground that he was elected in a general meeting of members, although the majority of branches protested his election.

Motion made to concur in the report of the committee. The motion carried.

A. Yates announced that H. Friedman, who had loaned money to the organization on October 5, 1906, to the amount of \$200, was willing to assume the indebtedness of Local Union No. 59 as part payment of that loan. He asked whether such payment would be accepted. General Secretary replied that such payment would be accepted.

Metion made and seconded to adjourn to 2 o'clock P. M. Motion carried.

**Afternoon Session.**

The chairman called meeting to order at 2 o'clock P. M. Absentees: Pinkerton, Gaines, Miller, Yates.

A. Yates rose to request that the case of the seating of the delegate from Local Union No. 59 be taken up again, and shew receipt signed by the General Secretary-Treasurer on September 22; consequently the ruling made by the chair in the forenoon should be enforced. The chair stated that a motion to that effect would be in order, but that the case would have to go through the hands of the Credentials Committee to be reported in regular order and the number of votes allotted to the delegate.

Katz made the motion, seconded by Arnold, that the convention adjourn to give the Credentials Committee time to get on the case of Local Union No. 59 and report. Motion to adjourn was lost, 15 voting against and 5 for.

J. J. Stark moved, and the motion was seconded by Hertz, that the committee proceed with the reporting on other credentials.

Wm. Yates amended the motion that the delegate of Local Union No. 59 be seated; chair ruled the motion out of order on the ground that the Credentials Committee would have to report on the matter and that the case of the delegate of that local would have to come in regular turn.

Katz raised a point of order that the chair had ruled in the morning, and no protest was heard from the convention on that ruling; that the delegate would be seated immediately upon payment of the obligations of the union. Chair so ruled. Williams appealed against the decision of the chair. The decision of the chair was overruled by roll call vote of the convention, 54 votes being cast, of whom 19 voted to sustain the chair and 35 against.

Hertz moved and McArthur seconded the motion to proceed with the report of the Credentials Committee. Motion carried, 15 to 5. The protest against allotting the seat for Local Union No. 163 to Delegate Hertz was taken up, and the Committee on Credentials recommended the seating of the delegate.

Moved by Axelsson, seconded by Johnson, that the report of the committee be accepted and the delegate given the number of votes the local is entitled to.

Wm. Yates argued against the motion on the ground that New Jersey, as having a District Council, cannot geographically come under the term of the same locality, regardless of its financial standing with General Headquarters, which would debar the local from being represented by a delegate from New York.

Williams argued that the boundary lines of a locality cannot be defined so strictly, as he represented, last year, locals from the West which were 300 miles apart.

A. Yates argued that the local unions protested would have to show that the local had paid to the Industrial District Council the dues that were supposed to be sent to General Headquarters through the Council.

Arnold of Louisville was against the motion, and insinuated that some of the delegates were considering the matter in bad faith. He was called to order by the chair.

Trainor moved, and the motion was seconded, that the case of Local Union No. 163 take the same course as that of Local Union No. 59.

Hertz showed why the local was not responsible for the neglect of the Council, and should not be disfranchised on that account. Hieslewood argued that the case of Local Union No. 59 was not parallel with that of Local Union No. 163.

Rad. Katz argued on the inconsistency of the convention; Cole argued that the case is different altogether, while Trainor contended that the case as far as the financial status is concerned is similar to the reasons given for not seating the delegate from Local Union No. 59. The motion was put and

carried by a vote of 18 to 8.

Hertz insisted on roll call; chair ruled request out of order on the ground that the vote had been announced. Hertz appealed against the decision of the chair, and the chair was sustained by a vote of 15 to 3.

Committee on Credentials continued its report.

On the case of Local Union No. 24 of Newark, N. J., the committee reported that the protest be not sustained, on the same grounds as the protests against Local Union No. 163, and that the vote of the local be allotted to Delegate Hertz. As the chair had been sustained in his decision on the case of Local Union No. 163 he ruled that the matter take the same course. Hertz appealed against the decision of the chair. The chair was sustained by a roll call vote of 23 against 19.

Motion was made by William Yates, and seconded, that five votes should be necessary to have a roll call. Chair ruled the motion out of order on the ground that the Committee on Rules would have to provide rules governing the parliamentary procedure of the convention.

Committee on Credentials reported the case of the delegate from Local Union No. 179, and recommended that the protest be not sustained.

The committee reported that the protest was entered by a member of the Credentials Committee, A. Yates, on the ground that Gurley Flynn is not a wage worker.

Wm. Yates moved, and it was seconded by A. Yates, that the report of the committee be not concurred in.

Williams amended the motion, and the amendment was seconded by Cole, that the word "not" be stricken out and the delegate seated. A. Yates raised the point of order that the amendment could not be entertained as it nullified the object of the original motion. Chair ruled the point not well taken.

Delegate from Local Union No. 179, Gurley Flynn, was granted the floor to explain why she is to be classified as a wage worker.

A. Yates argued against adoption of amendment on the ground that Gurley Flynn was not entitled to a seat on having received wages as organizer of the I. W. W. He accused the Committee on Credentials of being prejudiced in the case.

Gurley Flynn stated that the protest was caused by a remark made by Dan. De Leon when he appeared before the Credentials Committee on his own case, and that, when she showed a list of names of those constituting the local, her name appeared thereon under the caption occupation as "no work."

A. Axelsson spoke in favor of the amendment; he argued that the delegate from New Bedford had in the forenoon pleaded for the 200 members out of work, now that a woman wage worker comes to the convention he wants to debar her on the ground of not "having work."

Trainor spoke against the amendment. Williams raised the point that the constitution did not define the meaning of a wage worker.

Cole spoke in favor of the amendment; Hieslewood moved the previous question. Motion for previous question carried, 13 voting yes and 8 no.

On roll call vote on the amendment 40 voted for and 14 against same, and the report of the committee to seat the delegate was adopted.

A. Yates moved that the case of the delegate of Local Union No. 59 be taken up. Amendment was made by McArthur and seconded by Axelsson that convention proceed with taking up the cases of the other delegates whose seats had been protested. Amendment declared out of order.

Williams amended the motion that the case of Francis be held in abeyance until the Grievance Committee would report its findings on charges preferred against Francis.

Wm. Yates moved that the amendment lay on the table.

The chair ruled that the amendment, if carried, would lay the whole subject matter on the table, including the motion.

Upon roll call 28 voted for the motion to table, and 20 against.

A parliamentary wrangle then took place.

Axelsson moved, and McArthur seconded, the motion that the delegates favorably reported on be seated, and the votes allotted to them. Motion carried, 24 for, none against.

Delegates Flynn and Rosener were then seated.

Moved by Katz that the case of the delegate from Local Union No. 59 be taken from the table. Motion carried, 13 for and 6 against.

Moved by Katz that the delegate from Local Union No. 59 be seated; motion was seconded by Arnold. Williams again amended that the matter be referred to a Grievance Committee and the seating of the delegate be kept in abeyance. Chair ruled the amendment out of order.

Williams appealed against the decision of the chair and the chair was sustained by a vote of 14 to 2.

Williams rose to enter a protest as

member of the G. E. B. against the seating of Delegate Francis from Local Union No. 59 and began to review the work of disruption that, according to his allegations, a clique was carrying on to the detriment of the Industrial Workers of the World, and he pointed to Francis as the leader of that ring. He argued that the conflict between a few of the Socialist Labor Party and the Anarchist Federation of New York City worked irreparable injury to the I. W. W. and on these grounds he wanted the convention to know the full truth.

Interrupted in his statements, Katz moved that the convention adjourn to 9 o'clock Wednesday. Vote by roll call resulted in 14 voting for adjournment and 40 against. Williams proceeded with the statements and was interrupted by Yates, who claimed he had finished his report of investigation on New York matters, and as the report conflicted with Williams' version it would put him in a predicament. Williams was allowed to continue; Katz interrupted and raised a point of order that Williams was presenting charges that were irrelevant to the matter before the house. The chair ruled that Williams was presenting the reasons for his protest and should proceed. Katz appealed against the decision of the chair. The chair was sustained by a vote of 15 against 5. Williams having finished his statements a lively discussion ensued. A. Yates arguing that if the allegations of facts as stated by Williams were true he would be willing to have everything come out. Trainor objected against the name of the Socialist Labor Party being dragged in and argued that the Anti-Jewish and Anti-Italian spirit of the statements called for resentment.

Motion was made at 7 o'clock to adjourn to 9 o'clock next morning. Motion carried.

**Forenoon Session—Wednesday, September 23rd.**

The chair called convention to order at 9 o'clock A. M. Three delegates did not respond to call of roll. Minutes of the proceedings of the first day were read and approved. Part of the minutes of the second day's session were read and approved with the corrections that Trainor was nominated by Yates and he, Trainor, nominated A. Yates.

Protest against the seat of J. Arnold, introduced by General Secretary-Treasurer Trautmann, was read and upon motion turned over to the Credentials Committee.

The protest presented by Executive Board Member Williams against seating A. J. Francis as delegate from Local Union No. 59 was read. Motion was made and seconded that convention constitute itself as a Committee of the Whole. Chair declined motion out of order, as there was already a motion before the house.

A discussion arose over the wording of the protest entertained by the Secretary against the seating of Arnold, on account of a term used.

Motion was made by Yates, seconded by Trainor to adjourn to give the Credentials Committee time to report in full.

Amendment was made to adjourn for one hour; motion lost.

Announcement was made that Credentials Committee would meet at noon hour at General Headquarters.

Wm. Yates asked about the amendment to constitute the convention as a Committee of the Whole. The chair stated that he would have to rule the amendment out of order. Yates appealed against the decision of the chair, but chair was sustained by a viva voce vote.

Previous motion was asked for, chair did not entertain the motion on the ground that the protest should be heard from.

Fellow Worker A. J. Francis was given the floor to state his case. Francis stated that the charge that he had formed a clique to control the organization is not well founded; that he himself had favored the election of Eugene Fischer as Secretary of the Council. That Fischer, however, did not care for being elected, yet accepted nomination and had as opponent on the election Sam. Stodel. The May Day celebration of New York City so often referred to, was originally organized by the I. W. W. District Council, but in order to get the co-operation of others the name of the arrangement organization was changed and the I. W. W. Council had only representation on that newly formed body. As it was thought that the organization so formed would not be able to get a permit to parade and to assemble on Union Square, Stodel was authorized to get permit under the name of the Industrial Workers of the World. Francis corroborated the statement of Williams that such permit was granted on the assurance that Alexander Bergmann would not be the speaker and a list of speakers agreed upon by the conference organization was prepared with the name of Bergmann omitted. Francis stated that he had not been in the demonstration; only read next day about the affair in the papers, and when



he saw what blunders, in his opinion, had been made, he threw up his hands and anticipated that the opponents would make all possible capital out of the incident. Francis stated that he heard that the Commissioner of Police when asked whether Bergmann could speak, answered "yes," but that notwithstanding Chairman Moskowitz refused Bergmann the platform, and that as a result the crowd became unruly and forced it upon the chairman of the meeting that Bergmann should speak, in spite of the previous order of the police that he would not be allowed to speak. Francis then went at length into his work in New York City, and how he was mostly responsible that several new locals were organized. He contended that he had not spoken with De Leon for over a year, and the charge that he is a tool of Daniel De Leon is therefore not substantiated by facts. He appealed to the convention to do him justice and allow him to take his seat.

McArthur moved the previous question, and being duly seconded the motion for previous question was put, and lost by a vote of 6 to 6.

A. Yates of New Bedford suggested that Executive Member Wm. Yates make his report about the conditions as he found them in New York City.

Motion was declined out of order on the ground that another motion was still before the house, but that all documentary evidence could be submitted in due time.

Whitehead asked for ruling whether the convention was in session as a Committee of the Whole. Chair ruled that from the course of procedure adopted by the convention it was a Committee of the Whole in effect, though not in form.

Wm. Yates stated that his report of the findings in his investigation would not alter the state of affairs one bit, as both sides in the controversy had lined up solidly and would not be swayed either way.

Trainer moved that the convention give Wm. Yates time to prepare his documents for the convention, and therefore adjourn to 2 o'clock P. M. Motion was seconded and carried.

#### Afternoon Session.

Chairman Vincent St. John called convention to order at 2 o'clock P. M. Absentees: H. J. Gaines, Francis Miller.

Wm. Yates, executive member, proceeded with the reading of his report of investigation; read the letters of instruction received, and also copies of letters containing information by which he was to be guided in his investigation.

B. H. Williams asked that Yates read the copy of letter of Williams in which he defines his views on the causes of the controversy and the analysis of the elements engaged in the controversy. Williams made the request on the ground that "race prejudice arguments" had been injected in the discussion of the subject matter. Secretary Trautmann asked Yates whether he had investigated the forgery in effect committed by Francis, by substituting in the publication of the paper friendly to the I. W. W.—The Daily People—the name of W. E. Trautmann in the place of Vincent St. John. The question being answered in the negative the Secretary proceeded to read the communications exchanged between Francis as secretary of the New York Industrial Council and General Secretary Vincent St. John and the excuse offered by Francis in substituting the names in the publication of resolutions in the Daily People condemnatory to General Secretary Trautmann.

Stark moved the previous question; not seconded.

A. Yates asked whether the Credentials Committee would first report on the credentials contested in the morning, as it would deprive the delegates holding these credentials from casting their vote in the matter. Delegate J. Morissey asked point of order on the question whether the payment of the obligations of Local Union No. 59 was not obtained on the promise that the delegate of that local would be seated. The chair ruled on question of A. Yates that a motion being before the house the report of the Credentials Committee would be in order when the matter under discussion is disposed of, and explained to the second questioner that the status of Local Union No. 59 was no longer under consideration but the protest against Francis as the delegate of that local.

Rosenberg moved, and it was seconded, that the credentials of all delegates from New York City be annulled pending the settlement of the matter before the convention.

The chair ruled the motion out of order.

Orley Flynn, in a lengthy argument, brought out the facts in the New York controversy and reading a denunciatory letter of Francis from the Daily People, in which insinuations were thrown against a member of the I. W. W., Stodel, which could serve as information for the police he concluded that Francis should not be seated, as being the

instigator and perpetrator of all these underhanded transactions.

She contended that the convention should also know what transpired after Wm. Yates had left New York City, and how Francis and the Industrial District Council under his leadership had played football with one of the locals she represented, Local Union No. 179.

The previous question was asked for by Stark and duly seconded.

Previous question carried by a vote of 42 against 15.

The motion before the convention that Francis be seated was lost by a roll call vote of 41 against 7.

A. Yates moved, and it was duly seconded, "that the money paid to the General Secretary-Treasurer in payment of indebtedness of Local Union No. 59 be refunded because obtained under false pretences."

Axelson argued at length against the motion, contending that nobody should insinuate, as in the motion, that the convention was to be bought by the amount paid by that local.

Trainer in rebuttal read a note from A. J. Francis in which the latter announced that so far as he is concerned he was through with the matter.

A. Yates spoke on the motion and reviewed the proceedings in the contest matter against the seating of the delegate from Local Union No. 59 and later against A. J. Francis as delegate of that local.

Vincent St. John took the floor to refute the argument that the money was obtained under false pretences.

The motion to refund the money was lost by a vote of 32 against 19.

Jerry Smith moved, and it was seconded by McArthur, that all documents in the case of Francis and the I. D. C. of New York City be turned over to the General Secretary-Treasurer.

Whitehead asked what could be done to make Francis give up the documents in the case.

Motion was put and carried by a vote of 18 against 1.

The Credentials Committee proceeded with its report.

On the matter of the contested delegate from Local Union No. 31 the committee recommended that the protest be not sustained on the ground that it was not shown that Arnold was not a wage worker.

Arnold stated his case and claimed that the Secretary did not produce evidence of late date that Arnold was an owner of a bookstore, but was interrupted by Whitehead, who, as a member of the Credentials Committee, contended that a letterhead with date of September 21, 1908, had been submitted. Motion was made to concur in the report and allot the delegate the number of votes he is entitled to.

The motion carried.

Moved by Axelson, seconded by Johnson, that the Constitution Committee be instructed to make provisions that canvassers be not eligible to membership. Motion declared out of order.

Wm. Yates made the motion, and it was seconded, that in the letter of protest all objectionable words be expunged.

Motion carried, 18 to 1.

Credentials Committee reported that the contest against the credential of Local Union No. 296 of Brooklyn be not sustained and the delegate seated.

Motion made by Axelson, seconded by Johnson, that the report of the committee be adopted. Morissey raised point of order.

Delegate E. G. Flynn argued the nature of the protest as being instructed by mixed Local No. 179 to enter that protest, that it was based on the constitutional provision that only one mixed local should be permitted in one given locality.

The motion, upon being put, carried. Credentials Committee reported on the case of Local Union No. 173 of San Francisco, and recommended that the credential be not accepted, on the ground that the local owed headquarters the amount of \$104.98.

Moved by Axelson that the case of Local Union No. 173 take the same course as that of other locals in the same position on which the convention had decided.

Delegate Sautter moved that Organizer Eitor, being acquainted with the case, be heard from. No objection being raised Eitor stated the status of the local in San Francisco.

General Secretary St. John went over the case of the local and the dispute relating to a payment of obligations, but upon inquiry by Katz stated that the local in a letter of late date had acknowledged that the indebtedness was legitimate, and the local will do all in its power to fulfill its obligations towards General Headquarters.

Williams spoke on the case.

Katz moved, as a show of fairness, that the credential be accepted and the delegate allotted the number of votes he is entitled to.

Joe Morissey asked whether that would imply that the credential would be recognized without immediate payment of the obligation, and being answered in the affirmative, he protested against such a course of procedure.

Heelwood argued that the case of Local Union No. 173 is not parallel to that of Local Union No. 59, and pleaded for the seating of the delegate.

Arnold also spoke in favor of not accepting the report of the committee. Motion was put to seat the delegate of Local Union No. 173 and was lost by a roll call vote of 34 to 17.

Motion to adjourn till 9 o'clock Thursday morning was put and lost.

Credentials committee reported on the credential of Local Union No. 110 of Detroit and recommended that the delegate be not seated on the ground that the local had not paid dues since being organized a year ago.

Motion made to concur in the report of the committee.

No objection being raised Fellow Worker Richter of Detroit was allowed the floor and went at length in describing the conditions of the local, and the other locals in Detroit. He stated the bakery workers had a strike, and he was under the impression that General Headquarters would not be so strict in enforcement of constitutional provisions relating to payment of dues.

Rosenberg amended the motion that the delegate be seated. No second to amendment. Motion was put and carried by a vote of 10 to 4.

Axelson moved, and it was seconded by Whitehead, that if the committee is through with report of delegates favorably acted on they should proceed with the cases of locals on which they have reached an unfavorable decision.

Motion to adjourn to 9 o'clock A. M. Thursday was seconded and carried.

#### Fourth Day Session.

Convention was called to order by Chairman Vincent St. John at 9 o'clock A. M. No absentees. Secretary of the convention read the minutes of the previous day. Rosenberg of New York City wanted to have it recorded that in the argument on the matter of seating Delegate Francis he had stated that the present controversies in New York City were caused by the former secretary, Eugene Fischer.

Wm. Yates asked why in the report of the New York conditions only the final conclusions were recorded, and not the whole report. He was assured that the whole report would be incorporated in the minutes when printed.

The Committee on Credentials proceeded with its report.

On the case of Fellow Worker De Leon, representing "Store and Office Workers' Union," No. 58, the committee recommended that the protest be sustained and the delegate not seated because he is not a member of the local of the industry in which working, such a local being in existence.

The committee voted 3 to 1 for the report.

It was moved by Heelwood, seconded by Axelson, that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Wm. Yates asked that the committee should also give the parties protesting and the nature of same.

The committee read the protest signed by two individual members of Local Union No. 58, Justus Ebert and H. Trautwig.

Katz raised a point of order that the ruling of the chair on previous occasions was that no individuals could entertain a protest. The chair ruled adversely on the ground that the individuals whose protests had not been recognized assumed the right to speak in behalf of the organization of which they were members, while in this case the protestants acted as individual members of the local, and that such a protest can therefore be entertained.

The Credentials Committee also read a protest against the seating of the delegate made by Local Union No. 420.

Moved by Trainer and seconded that the protest of Local Union No. 420 take the same course as similar protests on other cases.

Chair ruled motion out of order.

Katz asked for more explanation from the Credentials Committee.

The chair announced that he would, in order to facilitate matters, follow the following course: That a delegate who has spoken once on the subject would not be given the floor again until all who wished to speak had had the floor.

Wm. Yates asked whether the committee had acted en bloc on all protests.

Credentials Committee answered that they had, but that the part of the protest referring to the "pernicious conduct" of the contested delegate were refused consideration.

Whitehead of the Credentials Committee stated that the protestee had admitted before the committee that he never had attended the meeting of the local and should be denied representation on these grounds also.

A. Yates gave the reasons why he had voted in the committee against the majority report. He was asked the question by the chair whether an editor of a paper is engaged in the printing industry—he answered in the affirmative; he was then asked whether a bookkeeper employed in a textile factory should be a member of the industrial union comprising textile workers, and he answered also in the affirmative. A. Yates continued to present the

reasons why the delegate from Local Union No. 58, Daniel De Leon, should not be debarred by the convention. He argued that the contention of the protestants that the meeting of Local Union No. 58 in which the delegate had been elected had been packed by nine newly initiated members who were also members of the S. L. P. had to be proven first. He claimed that the conduct of the protestee is far from being perfect, and he, as one, would not hesitate to criticize him on that account, but that it should be remembered that De Leon had done marvelous work for the international labor movement as an orator of the working class; that through his writings many have been led on the right track, that it should not be forgotten that mostly due to De Leon's teachings in the New England States prior to the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World the brilliant chances of constructive work on the lines of industrial unionism are made possible; that it should not be forgotten that De Leon's name is a stench in the nostrils of every labor fakir, and that he is the most hated man among the enemies of the industrial union movement, and working class organizations. "Who," the delegate contended, "was the first who issued the appeals for funds and for action for the liberation of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone; who is the first to raise his voice and wield the mighty pen in behalf of the persecuted revolutionist exiles from Russia, Porey; who is responsible for the exposure of Sherman, Mahoney, McMillen and the others who disgraced the records of the I. W. W.?" It was the editor of the People, Dan De Leon. His work as the greatest man in writing books on economics has opened the eyes of thousands, and he deserves the admiration of every man and woman who are in the struggle of the working class for the emancipation of the proletariat. He had his eyes opened and the truth dawned on him the first time during a strike in New Bedford, when the American Federation of Labor sent Driscoll of Boston and Reid down, and when both in their address before the Central Labor Union vilified and abused De Leon as the man whose name alone is a stench in the nostrils of the fakirs—and knowing the two afore-said fakirs he thought that a man so denounced, so hated, must be fighting on the right lines, must be an enemy of all those who are enemies and foes of the working class."

He, the speaker continued, would be opposed to debar the delegate on such flimsy grounds as presented by the protestants and therefore he had also made a minority report to reject the protest.

Jerry Smith of Portland, Ore., as member of the Credentials Committee, gave as one of the reasons for sustaining the protest the fact that the protestee had a right to hire and discharge others in the plant where engaged as editor, which the protestee had admitted he had a right to do.

Hertz also objected against the seating of the delegate on constitutional grounds; that the Daily People had dragged the Connolly controversy into the I. W. W., and wherever the paper is circulated its attacks on officers of the I. W. W. has hampered the propaganda work of the I. W. W.

Heelwood contended that it was immaterial who started the propaganda for the liberation of Moyer and Haywood, that was a duty of the working class.

B. H. Williams argued that the statements and arguments of Delegate A. Yates had opened the entire matter for a discussion, and while a considerable time would have to be devoted to it, after all, he time well spent in the interest of the organization.

Williams contended that De Leon properly belongs to the printing plant employees' union of New York City; such a local is in existence in New York City for the last two and a half years; that the son of protestee, Solon De Leon, working in the same newspaper office, was a member of that local; that the editor of that paper, claiming to be a great exponent of industrial unionism, should know where his place was; that the protestee had known that his place was in the printing workers' union, and that the protestants after they had demanded the transfer of the fellow worker to the local of the industry in which he is working were regarded on the grounds, given as pretext by a faction of that union that the transfer was only a trick to disqualify the protestee as delegate to the convention. There is no other motive behind the request to disqualify the delegate but to demonstrate that the organization stands above the individual, and that constitutional constructive methods must supersede the anarchistic destructive methods of the protestee. Local Union No. 58, according to the speaker, was a craft union; though chartered as a Store and Office Workers' Union, it is really in composition a mixed local. Williams pointed to the fact that

Joe Schlossberg, editor of the Arbeiter, the Jewish organ of the Socialist Labor Party, who had paid dues for one month only within two years, asked to have his dues remitted, but the union did not comply with that request, and ordered him to join the local of his industry, Typographical Union No. 161. Tranrig had called attention to the fact in local union No. 58, that since such action had been taken in the case of Schlossberg it was only consistent that Follow Worker DeLeon also be instructed to transfer, and this request was made before the local had made nominations for delegate, but Chaso, another member of Local Union No. 58, answered that the request of Tranrig was only a trick to keep DeLeon out of the convention.

Williams then went at length into the disruptive tactics applied to get him out of New York City, as he would not allow the domination of the I. W. W. by a man and his supporters whose policy was to either rule or ruin. He traced the attacks against him to the fact that he had not allowed DeLeon to use the general executive board of the I. W. W. to be placed in a predicament by ruling DeLeon out of order when he forced a star chamber meeting on the general executive board. Then Williams proceeded to narrate the incidents connected with that session of the G. E. B., but he was called to order by the chair and was not permitted to proceed on the ground that the meeting of the general executive board was not under consideration, but the arguments on the motion to sustain the credential committee on its contention that the delegate of Local Union No. 58 be not seated.

Williams concluded by showing that the movement in New York City can not be built up so long as the disruptive tactics, the disregard for all legitimate and constitutional procedure, continues, and he blamed the protestee mostly as being the instigator and the supporter of the movement to disrupt the I. W. W.

Katz moved, and the motion was seconded by Axelson, that the protestee, Dan DeLeon, be granted the floor. Sautter, of Los Angeles, asked Williams the question why he, as member of the general executive board, did not pull down the charter of local union No. 58 when he became acquainted with the conditions.

Williams, in answer, stated that he had no power to do so; that the local alone had to act on the matter, which they did, and when the upholders of constitutional procedure appealed to the Industrial District Council of New York City the appeal was returned to the local, and so the appellants could only appeal either to the General Executive Board or to the convention, which they did in the form of protest against the seating of the delegate.

DeLeon was given the floor by unanimous consent.

(See extracts of DeLeon's argument on front page under caption "Worker, against Intellectual.")

The protestee concluded his arguments at 12:30, and on motion, convention adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m.

#### Afternoon Session.

Chairman St. John called convention to order at 2 o'clock p. m. Roll was called, two absentees. Williams asked two questions relating to utterances that DeLeon made at the convention of the S. L. P., that the present officers of the I. W. W., with the two noble exceptions of Yates and Katz, had gone into the camp of the anarchists. DeLeon answered and claimed that he said that the Bulletin under its present management was gradually becoming a political party sheet.

Executive Member Cole asked DeLeon for a copy of the document in which he (Cole) stated that he dared Katz and DeLeon to come to the convention. The Bulletin was handed to him, and he read the letter in question, and showed that it read "let it" come to the convention, that is, the occurrences in connection with the G. E. B. session in New York City, if Katz and DeLeon dare.

St. John announced that he would reserve the right to speak on the subject matter but did not want to be the last speaker so to avoid any adverse criticism on that account.

Nobody asking for the floor, Vincent St. John took the floor in rebuttal to Dan DeLeon's arguments and spoke over an hour.

(Extracts of the arguments appear on front page under caption of Worker against Intellectual.)

Chas. Trainer spoke against the motion. He contended that executive board member Williams should have brought the matter before the executive board after the local refused to comply with the constitution.

Axelson spoke in favor of the motion. Wm. Yates, in opposing the motion argued that the fact that the protestee had the right to hire and discharge should be no cause for disqualification, because in two strikes of the I. W. W. of recent date the foremen of factories who were I. W. W. supporters, had gone on strike with the rest. He contended that the protest against DeLeon was not brought in good faith, and that other motives were behind the whole procedure, and while on the question of the correct structure of an industrial union he had to agree with Vincent St. John's views,

yet there should be a chance given to Follow Worker DeLeon to learn in the convention what really the forms of an industrial union are, and on the grounds that DeLeon was allowed to be a member of a union not of his industry for three years, Yates doubted the loyalty of the protestee.

Katz, as next speaker in favor of seating DeLeon, contended that he had to coincide in his views with Follow Worker A. Yates, that he also became an admirer of the protestee when he, as a delegate of A. F. of L. bodies, heard the fakirs denounce him in all ways. He spoke at length on the unjustified methods to keep DeLeon out of the convention, and started to relate the incidents in connection with the publication of articles of James Quinlan and James Connolly in the Bulletin, but was called to order by the chair on the ground that a repetition of some of the arguments presented by DeLeon himself on the floor of the convention was not needed, and should not be permitted.

E. G. Flynn took the floor to give reasons why the report of the committee should be adopted and the protestee not seated. She was frequently interrupted, but brought out the reasons why the local which she represented was one of them that claimed that DeLeon should not be seated on constitutional grounds.

McArthur moved the previous question, J. J. Stark second. Motion for previous question carried, 17 for and 6 against. The motion to adopt report of committee and not seat the delegate was then put and carried by a roll call vote of 40 against 21.

(To be continued)

The convention was closed by speeches of the many delegates which showed that all were intent upon returning home with renewed vigor to be expended in the field of activity of propaganda and the further building up of the only working class organization in America—the Industrial Workers of the World.

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